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ABSTRACT

Tourism in Cyprus, as in many other countries, is considered a main economic activity and a lot of effort is put into its promotion. However, many are those who believe that tourism is the reason for the increase of illegal behaviour and higher crime rates on the island. As crime investigation is financially a very costly undertaking, the optimum for the country's tourist industry would be to aim at high quality tourism, by attracting tourists who spend lots during their stay and at the same time do not commit any criminal offences while on holidays. Unlike previous work, this report identifies tourists in the Republic of Cyprus that are highly involved in crime based on their nationality and type of offence and quotes their mean expenses. This intends to identify those tourists that are more 'beneficial' for the country's economy and less 'harmful' for the country's society and tourist industry. In an effort to estimate more accurately the involvement of tourists in crime, (a) a representative sample of police criminal records was used to code data for SPSS analysis and (b) comparable statistical data pertaining to a passenger survey has been utilized. The paper reports findings and considers policy implications when tourists are disaggregated on the basis of their nationality, type of offending and money spent in Cyprus. Without ignoring the methodological limitations of the data used, the paper reports important findings as far as the most favourable tourists in terms of their expenditures and criminal acts are concerned. The findings are expected to raise awareness for stakeholders involved in the tourism industry, including researchers.

Key Words: Tourism, Crime, Expenditure, Cyprus

1. INTRODUCTION

As indicated by many researchers in the past, tourism is becoming a growing industry sector for many countries, contributing to the standard of living of the host's society and the locals' quality of life, as the income resulting from tourism expenditure increases (Foster, 1985). Tourism contribution is noticeable in the development and innovation of the host's infrastructure with the expansion of construction projects like new roads, buildings and airports for better receipt of tourism impacts and exploitation of cultural exchange between tourists (Inskeep, 1991). Moreover, as shown by several studies (Allen et al., 1988; Davis et al., 1988), many opportunities are

generated from tourism referring to entertainment, leisure, shopping and consumption activities. For these reasons, many countries spend millions on promoting their tourism product and attracting as many tourists as possible and at the same time the amount of money earned. In 2014, the Cyprus Tourism Organisation's (CTO) budget allocated on promotion and publicity was €27 million (Cyprus Gazette, 2015).

On the other hand, several studies have examined the negative impacts of inbound tourism on a country's socio-culture, by highlighting the interaction of tourism and crime. The development of tourism is often related with the rising tendency that certain types of crime show (Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Pizam & Mansfeld, 1996). In addition, the locals' perceptions and beliefs about tourism development is highly associated to crime (Milman & Pizam, 1988; Long et al. 1990; Lankford, 1996). These concerns about the negative impacts of tourism, mainly the modification of the traditional culture, change in lifestyle and influence on crime, were also identified among the locals in Cyprus (Peristianis & Warner, 1996).

However, it is accepted that it is very difficult to measure the consequences of tourism as it involves many products, services and parties, hence the resulting estimations cannot be completely agreed or applied. The two main factors that are usually studied and analysed are the actual tourist arrivals and the corresponding revenue. Any negative consequences of tourism come second and thus less effort is generally made for their prevention.

The purpose of this study is to identify the best type of tourists, that the promoting parties and decision makers in Cyprus, like CTO, should attract, so that the 'benefits' in terms of the amounts spent are in excess of the 'losses' in terms of their involvement in criminal activities. For the case of Cyprus, this is an innovating study as there is no previously similar work done relating tourists' expenditure and crime involvement. The finding by Cleanthous (2008) that Cyprus' marketing efforts should mainly target the colder countries, was based on the determinants and the relative effect of country-of-origin characteristics on the demand for tourism in Cyprus.

2. CRIMINAL OFFENDING IN CYPRUS

As Nkosi (2010) reminds us, a manifestation of human behaviour, tourism is sensitive to crime and is immediately affected by it. Ferreira and Harmse (2000) warned about a decrease in tourism in South Africa due to increasing crime levels. In cases of isolated but serious crime news of which are spread fast by word of mouth and by the media, the tourist industry, as one of the stakeholders, has a vested interest to join forces with other stakeholders in order to minimise the impact of negative publicity on tourists (Dimanche, 1999). As will be shown below, the relationship between tourism and crime is more complex than early studies claimed. Let us, therefore take a look at the picture of crime in Cyprus. Comparatively speaking, the Republic of Cyprus enjoys low crime rates. On the basis of the latest (2011) census, the free areas of the Republic of Cyprus have a population of 856,060 million inhabitants. As far as serious criminal offences by type in the Republic of Cyprus³ are concerned, examination of the annual police statistics for the period 1981-2013 shows the number of cases reported to the police by type of serious offence have, generally speaking, been increasing significantly for homicide, arson, robbery, drugs, and destroying property with explosives whereas thefts and burglaries have levelled off the last few years. Focusing on 2014, according to the police statistics for 2014 for serious offences there were: 20

³ The northern part of Cyprus has been occupied by Turkey since it invaded the island in 1974. The Republic of Cyprus is only able to exercise control in the free areas of the Republic in the southern part.

murders and attempted murders, 16 rapes and attempted rapes, 229 arson and attempted arsons cases, 104 robbery and extortions, 1080 drugs cases, 47 cases involving criminal damage by explosives, 2333 burglaries/housebreak-ins, 966 thefts, and 1786 'other' serious offences. Regarding the gender of crime suspects, males were involved as suspects in the great majority of the crimes reported to the police in 2013: 100% of causing criminal damage with explosives, 98% of robbery and extortion, 95% of break-ins, 94% of drugs, 93% of murder and attempted murder, 90% of causing grievous bodily harm, 86% of arson, and 78% of thefts.

3. TOURISM AND CRIME

Research into tourism and crime (see Perry and Potgieter, 2013)⁴ has focused on a number of topics, namely: tourists as both offenders as well victims; higher level of offending in tourist areas; the impact of tourism on a region's crime level; tourism and terrorism; tourism as instrumental for deviance or offending; and, finally, how the authorities respond to the issue of tourism and crime, especially as far as crime prevention measures are concerned. Let us next consider the evidence for tourists as offenders before examining the evidence for the criminal victimization of tourists, especially in comparison to local residents, a distinction emphasised by Albuquerque and McElroy (1999).

3.1 Tourists as Offenders⁵

Assuming that most tourists who are victims of crime report it to the local police who, in turn, record the offences reported to them, it would not be unreasonable for one to hypothesise that tourism increases crime in tourist destinations because: tourism creates opportunities for local criminals to address certain tourists' demands for drugs and/or sex; among the tourists there are persons who routinely commit crime, including football hooligans and drug 'mules'; tourists are vulnerable for being victimised (see below); and local criminals are presented with additional opportunities to offend. Of course, it is not uncommon for certain tourists, especially those with a criminal record for property offences in their own country and who travel on low budgets to commit property offences or sell drugs or prostitute themselves to meet the cost of their holidays. Low-cost air travel has vastly increased the opportunities for such persons, too, to holiday overseas.

Ochrym (1990) examined the mean crime rates in three tourist areas (including Atlantic city where casino gaming was legalised in 1976) and two urban centres in New Jersey and found that tourist destinations had had mean crime rates significantly higher from urban centres. As criminologists are not tired of reminding us, crime is, generally speaking, an urban problem. The early study by Jud (1975) of a cross section of 32 Mexican cities for the year 1970 examined the relationship between tourism and crime controlling for urbanization and found that the volume of officially recorded crime and property-related crime (theft, fraud, robbery) are closely related to crime in a positive way. A weak relationship between tourism and crime was reported for a cross section of 50 US States by Pizam (1982) found that total crime and property-related offences such as theft, fraud, and robbery were positively correlated with tourism but offences against the person (assault, abduction, kidnapping, rape, and murder) were not. Kokkinos and Kapardis (2014) found in their study of the impact of tourism on crime in Cyprus

⁴ They cite Brunt et al. (2000:417) and George (2010:807)

⁵ For studies in this section I have drawn partly on Biagi et al (2012).

during 2009-2012 that, contrary to popular belief, tourist offenders in Cyprus did not significantly contribute directly to increases in the total volume of crime by offence type. A positive relationship between tourism and economic-related offences was reported by McPheters and Stronge (1975) in Miami, Florida, who, used time series analysis and found (like Fuji and Mak, 1980- cited by Biagia et al 2012) a significant seasonality to tourism and increases in theft, burglary and robbery. In support of earlier studies, Campaniello (2011) found that when Italy hosted the Football World Cup, there was a significant increase in property offences. Further evidence that tourism is associated with economics-related crimes was reported by Biagi and Detotto (2014) for a cross-section of Italian provinces. Regarding the impact of tourism on crime in different countries, in their study of 46 European countries, Van Tran and Bridges (2009-cited by Biagi et al., 2013) reported that, as the rate of tourists arriving in a country increased, crimes against the person were reduced. As Biagi et al (2012) reminded their readers, a mere correlation between tourism and crime does not tell us whether the victims of the crimes attributable to tourism are other tourists or local residents. Biagi et al tested whether total crime in Italy was affected by tourism during the period 1985-2003. Controlling for the propensity of tourists and residents to be victimised, the likelihood was quite similar for the two groups and concluded that it was urbanization that appeared to provide the main explanation for the effect of tourism on crime. We see that the weight of the evidence, taking quality of methodology into account, with the notable exception of Van Tran and Bridges (2009), points to a positive relationship between tourism and crime when controlling for urbanization.

3.2 Tourists as Victims of Crime

Tourism management and tourism academics have reported more studies of tourists as offenders than as victims and have paid even less attention to tourists' experience of and fear of crime. Mention was made above that tourists are particularly vulnerable to criminal victimisation. This is surprising given that "crime has significant impacts on the tourism industry" (Perry and Potgieter, 2013:104). Comparing tourists and local residents as victims of crime, it needs to be acknowledged that tourists are, of course, more vulnerable for a number of reasons, including: they frequent specific high-risk locations such as night clubs; generally speaking, are not familiar with the area they are holidaying in; often do not speak the local language; carry such sought-after-by criminals valuables as cameras and cash; they are often overcharged or swindled or defrauded; and, finally, recent years have seen international terrorists attacking tourists resorts in order to kill citizens of particular countries (e.g., Israel) holidaying there and/or to damage the economy of a country. Not surprisingly, perhaps, when Albuquerque and McElroy (1999) analysed crime data for Barbados for 1989-19993 and reported that tourists had a greater crime victimisation rate than local residents and, also, tourists' victimisation involved property crime and robbery while locals experienced violent crime. It should be noted in this context that when comparing victimisation of tourists vs locals, one should also consider possible differences in reportability of different offences and as a function of the whether the victim and/or the offender is local or a tourist.

As far as crime victimisation of tourists is concerned, Mawby et al. (2000) and Brunt et al (1999) carried out a postal victim survey of a national sample (N=514) of British people focusing on their last holiday and found that (a) those surveyed experienced higher victimisation rates that they would have done at home, and (b) while criminological research indicates that fear of crime normally exceeds one's actual risk of crime victimisation, for the sample surveyed risk exceeded their fear. Interestingly, although many of the respondents said they had taken how they perceived safety into account when choosing where to go on holidays, only a small number of them considered crime a problem while on holiday. Biagi et al. (2012) examined whether crime in Italy is affected by tourist arrivals. Using data for the period 1985-2003 they found that (a) there was a positive correlation

between tourism and crime tourist destinations. However, when they controlled for the difference between tourists and local residents to be victimised, no significant differences were found.

The discussion of the literature on tourists and criminal offending shows a link between tourism and property-related offences. The present paper reports findings from an examination of the relationship between tourism and crime, taking into account the money spent by a tourist.

4. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

As this project focuses on two research areas namely (i) the involvement of inbound tourists in crime and (ii) the amount of money they spend; two different data bases were initially used.

For the purposes of estimating tourists' involvement in crime, a sample survey within the police records was employed, with reference the period 2009-2012. As most of the information on tourist offenders is kept in written form in police records, this practice helped us to build a data base in SPSS in an effort to better analyse their antisocial behaviour, based on their demographic characteristics and type of crime committed. It should be noted that for statistical purposes, the counting unit used is the case recorded by the police with the number of offenders. It is possible that the same offender may be involved in more than one case.

For the purposes of studying the revenue from the inbound tourism and the expenditures of tourists, the research in this study utilised the results from the passenger sample survey conducted by the Cyprus Statistical Service (CYSTAT, 2012), which took place at the departures of the airports during the same period 2009-2012.

The methodologies used in both of these sample surveys were similar. Particularly, the data collections were completed with the aid of survey questionnaires, the same expansion techniques were used for estimating the population parameters from the sample statistics and finally the ratio factors applied considered similar variables, such as the year and tourist's nationality.

The main constraint in this research work was the fact that no unique record, database or survey exist that reports the expenditure habits of each tourist offender. Thus, the next and final step was to create such database by joining the two – the resulting database from the sample survey within the police records and the findings from the passenger sample survey; in order to relate the expenditures with each tourist offender. This was done under the assumption that each tourist offender spends the same amount as any other tourist from the same country. Thus the unique key used for merging the two was the nationality of each tourist offender.

5. ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

In order to identify any significant differences concerning the variables investigated and draw conclusions about the population under study, the findings of this project were examined based on the demographic characteristics. The survey data was coded and analysed using SPSS. Apart from descriptive statistics, inferential statistics and tests, like Chi-square tests and t-tests were employed.

With the aim of achieving the main goal of this research study and identify those tourists that are more 'beneficial' for the country's economy and less 'harmful' in terms of their criminal acts, Table 1 was constructed.

The results as described in Table 1, present, for the main countries only, the estimated frequency of crimes committed by tourists with respect to their country of origin, along with the estimated results concerning the type of crime and amount of money spent. Apparently, it is expected that the frequency of committed crimes related to the tourist offender’s origin, is proportional to the value of tourist arrivals from that country. However, based on the project’s findings and using a Chi-square test, this is not always the case. In fact, it is indicated that tourists’ antisocial behaviour depends on their country of origin. “A key risk factor for involvement in fights on holiday includes nationality” (Hughes et al., 2008).

Figure 1: Tourist offenders by country, for the period 2009-2012

Country	Tourist Arrivals	Total Crime	Serious Crime	Minor Crime	Mean Exp. per person (€)
U.K.	44.1%	33.8%	16.7%	51.0%	715.4
Russia	12.9%	10.2%	14.7%	5.6%	946.2
Germany	6.2%	0.3%	0.1%	0.4%	748.9
Greece	5.8%	0.2%	0.3%	0.0%	433.2
Sweden	4.9%	3.8%	0.4%	7.2%	651.3
Norway	2.8%	0.3%	0.1%	0.5%	760.4
Switzerland	1.9%	0.1%	0.2%	0.0%	950.1
Israel	1.5%	0.3%	0.5%	0.2%	488.0
Netherlands	1.5%	0.2%	0.2%	0.3%	703.0
Finland	1.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	603.9
Denmark	1.4%	0.1%	0.0%	0.2%	618.6
France	1.4%	0.7%	1.5%	0.0%	750.0
Poland	1%	3.4%	5.5%	1.3%	579.7
Romania	1%	14.2%	15.4%	12.9%	692,0
Bulgaria	0.4%	15.7%	19.3%	6.1%	596,7
Others	11.8%	16.7%	25.2%	14.2%	n/a
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	743.7

Tourists from the United Kingdom, who constitute the majority of the tourist industry in Cyprus, with 44,1% of the tourist arrivals, are involved in 33,8% of the total crime committed by tourists. Even though, their contribution in serious crime is relatively low with 16,7%, their contribution in minor crime is much higher, as they are responsible for half of them (51,0%). Concerning their expenditure habits, tourists from the United Kingdom spend on average €715,4 per person, which is below the total average (€743,7) of all tourists.

The second biggest market of tourists in Cyprus is from Russia who amount to 12,9% of the tourist arrivals. Their crime contribution could be considered relatively important with 10,2% in total crime. Furthermore, their participation in serious crime (14,7%) could be highlighted, as it is more than twice that in minor crime (5,6%). On the other hand they are big spenders with mean per person expenditure of €946,2; much higher than the rest tourists, indicating that they are much profitable for the country's tourists industry.

The third important group of tourists is from Germany, counting for 6,2% of the tourist arrivals. Their involvement in crime could be characterised as insignificant as they add up to only 0,3% of the total crime, while their expenditure are close to the total mean. Similar is the case for tourists from Greece, who count only for 0,2% of the total crime, but who seem to spend less with only €433,2 per person. This could partially be explained by the fact that many tourists from Greece stay with their relatives in Cyprus.

Important to the Cyprus tourist industry in terms of arrivals are those from Sweden with 4,9%, whose participation in total crime is proportional to their arrivals with 3,8% and whose expenditure is less than the total average with €651,3 per person.

Tourists from Switzerland could be highlighted as ideal for both the country's tourism industry and country's society. Their contribution in total crime is insignificant (0,1%), relative to their arrivals, while they spend most probably the most with average €950,1 per person. Yet, their arrivals is kept at low levels with only 1,9%.

Moving down the list, it is remarkable to analyse the tourists from Eastern European countries, whose expenditures are kept at lower levels. Specifically, for Romania and Bulgaria the situation could be considered as worrying since their participation in crime is very high compared to their arrivals, especially in serious crime. While tourists from Bulgaria count for only 0,4% of the total tourist arrivals, they are responsible for 15,7% of the total crime and more worrying the 19,3% in serious crime. Similarly, while Romanian tourists count for only 1% of the total, their crime involvement is much higher with 14,2%. However, after further investigation, these high rates in crime could be explained to the few itinerant crime groups arriving, with the intention of committing crimes against property like thefts and calling themselves tourists. Even though these groups were made up by few persons, they were responsible for many criminal acts/cases, thus increasing the ratio. This phenomenon could also be the case for other countries, since with the accession of more countries in the European Union and free movement it has become more difficult to identify and distinguish real tourists. As also argued by Brunt et al. (2000) the motivation to travel in some cases is irrelevant with holidays.

To further understand the antisocial behaviour of tourists, a break down was made based on the types of criminal offences and nationality. The majority of the crimes committed by tourists from the United Kingdom concerns indecency and drunkenness. For tourists from Russia, the most frequently committed crimes are those of forgery and conspiracies. Conspiracies are also at the top of the list for tourists from Bulgaria, while tourists from Romania and Poland are keen in committing burglaries, housebreaking and similar offences.

In support of the interaction of the tourist criminal offending with the amount spent and economic status of the tourists visiting the island, a one sample t-test was used. The mean expenditure of tourist offenders was estimated and compared with the mean expenditure of tourists in general. Another constraint in this comparison is that in the calculation of the mean expenditure of tourists in general, tourist offenders are also included, since this measure is obtained from the passenger survey of CYSTAT.

According to the survey data, the mean per person expenditure of tourist offenders during 2009-2012 is estimated to be €713,4, whereas the mean per person expenditure of all the tourists in general for the same period is estimated to be €743,7. Based on the t-test results, there is enough statistical evidence to indicate that the mean per person expenditure of tourist offenders is smaller than the mean per person expenditure of tourists in general. Hence, we can conclude that tourist offenders are tourists who spend less and possibly have a lower economic status. This result is also consistent with the result (Prideaux, 1996) that higher crime rates are observed in cases of cheap tourism as opposed to high-class tourism.

6. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

As the importance of the tourism industry was recognised through this project work, namely the revenue resulting for the host country, the possibility of any negative consequences, such as the development of crime behaviours was also pointed out.

The interaction of tourism and crime is a complex phenomenon and thus difficult to be studied. It is a challenge to many decision makers to decide if the gains outweigh the losses. In addition, the problem of shortage of information currently existing on the extent of antisocial and criminal behaviour between visitors, on the reasons that boost their involvement in criminal activities during holidays and on their economic status and expenditure habits, was identified.

Regardless of the complexity and the level at which tourism and crime are interacted, the lack of information, the several restrictions and limitations, a practice was suggested by this study to disaggregate tourists by the amount of money spent and criminal offending. The intention was not to accuse or point the finger at any tourist, but to identify that type of tourists that are best for the country's tourism industry, namely those who spend the most and commit crimes the least. Such type of tourists identified by this project was for instance tourists from Switzerland. Yet, the absolute figures for tourists arriving from Switzerland are found to be at low levels. Thus, a suggestion to stakeholders is to consider targeting more this group, by taking into account of course other factors not considered in this study, like distance, traveling costs, demand, feasibility, etc. Tourists from Russia are also very beneficial and are already very supportive for the country's tourism industry. Still with better understanding of antisocial behaviour and prevention measures, their involvement in criminal acts could be minimized. As pointed out by this study, due to the fact that not much information is kept for the characteristics of the offender in the police records, it is difficult to identify and distinguish real tourists from those who claim to be tourists. This could be a reason for the higher reported crime figures for "tourists" from Eastern European countries, who with the accession in the European Union can easily travel across the Member States.

Consistent with the results of other studies, it is recommended that by attracting tourists of higher economic status, better outcomes would be gained from both the economic and the social consequences of tourism.

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